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The PEOPLE'S

RIGHT TO ELECTION

Or *ALTERATION* of *GOVERNMENT* in *Connecticott*,

A R G U E D

In a LETTER;

By *Gershom Bulkeley* Esq; one of their Majesties Justices of
the peace in the County of *Hartford*.

Together with a Letter to the said *Bulkeley*,
from a Friend of his in the B A Y.

To which is added, The *Writing* delivered to *James Russell*
of *Charlestown* Esq; warning him and others concerned,
not to meet to Hold a Court at *Cambridge*, within the
county of *Middlesex*.

By *Thomas Greaves* Esq; Judge of their Majesties Inferior
Court of Pleas and one of their Majesties Justices of the
peace within the said County.

And also his ANSWER to Mr. *Broadstreete* and the Gentle-
men mett at the *Town-house* in *Boston* concerning the same.
Published for the Information & Satisfaction of their Majesties
loyall (but abused) Subjects in NEW ENGLAND.

Philadelphia, Printed by Assignes of *William Bradford*,

Anno 1689.

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[This very rare pamphlet is reprinted from a copy belonging to the collection of George Brinley Esq., of Hartford.]

To the honourable Robert Treat Esq; and to the Worshipfull James Bishop, William Jones & James Fitch, and other the Worshipfull Justices of the severall Counties: and any other whom it may concern, assembling at Hartford: To advise concerning Holding of a Court of Election by Virtue of and according to the late Patent.

Sirs. I Am at this time (by reason of bodily Infirmary) unable to wait upon you in a suitable manner, or to maintain discourse as this Occasion may require, or indeed to write much, yet (considering the Exigency of the case) I will do what I can, and apply myself to you as followeth.

[2.] And to prevent all prejudice against what I have to say, I shall premise thus much, *Viz.* That tho' I was no free-man of the Colony, yet I never was, nor am an Enemy to our ancient Charter-priviledges, and could they now be regularly Recovered, I should rejoice in it, and if I knew any thing whereby to justify the present proceeding, I should not conceal it; but we must not do evil that good may come of it.

I am not at all ambitious of keeping my place, it is a Burthen and no Benefit to me; an orderly discharge will be very welcome, and the sooner the better; if I could absolve myself from my oath, it had not been to do now; so that I am under no Temptation on these accounts. Tis onely the Trust reposed in me, and my reall desire of the Common good which puts me on, very well knowing, that nothing but ill Will is like to be my reward.

Further, I am sensible of mine inability to wade in those great Affaires, and would not abound in my own sence, nor in any sort take upon nor go about to teach those of whom I had need to learne; yet, *Plus vident oculi quam oculus.* Many eyes see more than one: and a weak eye may chance to see that which a better over-looks. And I having with

others, (tho much against my own Inclination) received his Majesties Commission as a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Hartford*, and having at that time taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Obedience, as also that of a justice, for keeping of the Law, the Conservation of the Peace, and the quiet and good Government of the people, it did concern me to Consider the Duty by these meanes so strongly bound upon me, and accordingly I have since that time done my poor endeavour to inform my self in the Laws, that I might discern between Right and Wrong for the good of the people.

Therefore, in sence of my duty to God, the King, your selves, and all his Majesties good people here, (for I am debtor to you all, and am embarqued in the same Bottom with you; and do account it my Duty to seek the peace of the place where I live) therefore (I say) I shall not (and I think, I ought not) be wholly silent at this time, but according to that little which I have learned and observed, I shall modestly, and yet freely and plainly, offer a few Considerations to you which respect the present Affaire, desiring you neither to accept nor reject what I say, because it comes from me, but according to its own merit; for the matter in hand seems to me to be of very great Weight, and I beseech you to consider and ponder it thoroughly before you engage in it, forasmuch as an Irregularity in this Proceeding, may be the beginning of great Calamity and Woe to this people.

[3.] The present Motion seems to me to be not only illegal, needless and unprofitable, but indeed very criminal dangerous and hurtful to us, and that upon these Considerations.

First, Before you can Regularly (or by Virtue of and according to your late Patent) hold a Court of Election, you must be first Restored to your former politick Capacity, whereby you were under the Name of His Majesties Governour and Company of the English Colony of *Connecticott*,

Persons able and capable in the Law to plead and be impleaded &c; and to Have, Take, Require and possesse Lands and other Hereditaments &c. of which, that Priviledge of *Government* was a principall one given by your Patent.

For I reason thus, If you do now assume the Government, and proceed to Election, you do it either in a private and personal Capacity, or in a publick and politick Capacity, I suppose you do not pretend to the First, for that is not to do it according to your patent, and besides it is criminal.

For Subjects in *private* Capacity to take upon them to set up and exercise Government as they see cause, is direct *Rebellion* and Treason. Therefore you must do it in a publick and politick Capacity, but this you cannot do till you are restored to such a Capacity, in which indeed you once were, but now are not: which I thus prove from the Patent it self.

Our late Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, did in the year 1662, by his Letters Patents for himself, his Heires and Successours, Ordaine and Constitue the therein named Patentees, and the then present and future Freemen, &c. One Body politick and Corporate in fact and Name, by the name of, *His Governour and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America*; and that by the same Name they and their Successours shall and may have perpetuall Succession, and shall and may be persons able and capable in the law to plead and be impleaded, to Answer and be Answered unto, to defend and be defended in all Suits, Causes, Quarrels, Matters, Actions and things of what kind and nature soever. And also to Have, Take, Possesse, Acquire and Purchase Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments &c. This is the expresse Letter of that Clause of the Patent, whereby you were constituted one body politick and Corporate, able and capable in the Law as aforesaid; and whereby also, you were by the name of

Governour and Company to have perpetuall Succession, or to be perpetuated by annuall Election, at least, as the Patent afterwards shews, and upon this Clause do all priviledges afterwards granted depend.

But now you are not such a Body politick and Corporate capable in Law as aforesaid, for you know, that by the late Transaction between his Majesty and his then Governour [4] and Company of the late Colony of *Connecticut*, || the Government is changed and taken into his Majesties hands, and the late Colony of *Connecticot* annexed to the Bay, the Governour and one of the Assistants made and sworn Councillours and Judges under this new Government, the late Deputy-Governour and the rest of the Assistants, made and sworn Justices in the severall Counties under the same new Government, and this a year and a half ago: How legall these proceedings were we need not now dispute; but this it is in fact: Hence there is no such thing in fact and name as the Governour and Company of the Colony of *Connecticut*. And hence the Corporation is dissolved and made incapable in the law to plead and be impleaded &c. or to have and take or possesse any Hereditaments, and consequently incapable to Take, Erect and Exercise Government. For neither the Governour alone, nor the Company alone is the Corporation, nor capable to plead or be impleaded as such, but the Governour and Company together. If they Claime or Take, they must Claime or Take together, if they Sue, they must Sue together, and if they be sued, they must be sued together and not apart. Besides, by the meanes aforesaid the Succession is interrupted and broken off, for by the same name of the Governour and Company of &c. you were to have perpetuall Succession, and that Succession to be perpetuated by annuall Election of the Governour, Deputy-Governour, &c. which hath not been. Therefore in your present state you are not Successours of the former Corporation; and consequently cannot take the priviledges untill restored to your

former politick Capacity: and (to add that) you cannot restore your selves to it, for that is inconsistent with your Subjection to the Supream power.

By all this it doth appeare, That as there is no Governour or Deputy-Governour to give Order for the Assembling of the Company, (without which their Assembling for such an end is unlawful) so there are no Freemen capable of choosing or of being chosen; for if there be not a Corporation capable, there cannot be capable Freemen of that Corporation: And if in this state you proceed to Election, there is no Freeholder or free Subject of *England*, belonging to this Late Colony, but hath as good a Right, and is as capable of Choosing as any of you, because there is nothing to hinder it, and this the people see. Also there are now no Assistants enabled by lawfull Authority (without which none may do it) to take the Oath of the Governour or Deputy-Governour when chosen; all which things the Patent doth expressly require.

All this seems necessarily to follow from the very words of the Patent, and how it can be avoided I cannot see: but [5] that I may not seem to vent || my own Notions onely, I shall briefly give the words of Sir *Edward Coke* as sound a Lawyer and as great a friend to the *English* Subjects Liberties as ever *England* knew, *In the Case* (saith he) *of Mayor and Commonality* (which is the same in effect as Governour and Company) *Where there is no Mayor the Commonality cannot make claim; because they have neither ability nor Capacity to take or sue any Action.* [*Coke upon Lit.* pag. 263.] so that without a Governour or Deputy-Governour you cannot so much as Claime the Government by Law, much lesse enter upon it. And therefore we see that in the Patent, the King doth not Constitute onely a number of Freemen, and make them immediately capable to take such and such priviledges, and give them power rudely to run together whensoever some factious spirits shall make a bustle, and so in a tumult to choose them a Governour and

Magistrates; No, but he first creates them a Body politick consisting of Governour and Company, and by that name makes them capable in Law to take the priviledges which he thereafter gives. And he himselfe nominates and appoints the first Governour or Deputy-Governour for the time being, to give order for the Assembling of the Company upon all occasions (whether for Election or otherwise) and in such orderly manner gives them leave to assemble as often as need requireth.

Secondly, (Which doth also confirm the former) Before you can hold a Court of Election according to the Patent, you must have a General Court or Assembly constituted according to the Patent: the reason is, because the Patent doth ordaine, that the Governour, Deputy-Governour, and Assistants &c. be annually chosen, not without, but in the said Generall Court: concerning this matter the King, in his Patent, ordains three things.

1. That every Second Thursday in May and October (or oftner if need be) there shall be a Generall Assembly. 2. That this Generall Court or Assembly, consist of the Governour or Deputy-Governour, and at least six of the Assistants, and of the Freemen or their Deputyes. 3. That at least once in every year (Viz.) on the second Thursday in May, the Governour Deputy-Governour and Assistants of the said Company and other Officers &c. shall be in the said Generall Court and Assembly to be held from that day or time newly chosen for the yeare ensueing &c. Thus saith the Patent expressly: But you have now no Governour, Deputy-Governour, nor Assistants, therefore can have no such Generall Court or Assembly; therefore can hold no Court of Election by virtue of or according to your Patent. Examine the Patent and see &c.

From these two Considerations it appears, that if you do proceed to Election in your present state, you will but [6] deceive your selves and trouble || the Country to no purpose: all that you will do, will be void in Law: the

Government you think to set up will be but an imaginary Government, a shadow without a substance, Magistrates without Authority, for you can give them none, neither does the Patent give them any. A Government that cannot determine the Present Government, nor vacate the Commissions that have been given out from the King, and are still in force, nor exercise any Authority to effect: for their Authority may justly (yea, ought to) be denied by every one, and they cannot enforce it, without Lawlesse Usurpation and Tyrannie. 2. You will but trouble your *selves*, for you will be immediately liable to a *Quo-Warranto*, and can give no account by what Authority you do these arbitrary things.

Thirdly, The Government is now in the King's hands, (and here, that no person may cavill, the word *King* may be understood indefinitely for the King his Heires and Successours, for the Heir or Successour is King, when the Time of Succession is come. But I say, The Government is now in the King's hands, and it will be wisdom to proceed in a regular way, if you desire to recover it. For in regard of the dignity of his person, the King has by Law a Prerogative above the Subject for the keeping of what he hath. Hence, a man may not enter upon the King as he may upon his Fellow subject; much lesse may he enter upon the King by Force. I do not now enter upon that Question, *How far those that are by and under the King entrusted with publick Power and Office, for the defence of the Lawes and Libertyes of the Subject, may, in case, use force for that end; and the people under them at their Cull and Command;* This is another Question, and not our case, and those that desire satisfaction, may consult those that have written weightily upon that Subject. It is one thing to defend the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject. This some think *some* may do, and this defends the Government: But it is another thing to subvert and change and take possession of the Government it self, this none may do. And

tho' some may say, *But the Government is illegally taken into the King's hand, and it is one of our great Liberties*: I shall say something to that by and by.

Therefore to let that Question pass untoucht. I said that the Subject may not enter upon the King with force: now you cannot enter upon the King in point of Government, but it is with force, for all power of Government implies force antecedent for the setting of it up, and concomitant for the Support and Defence of it, and partly because you cannot do it in this way of Election without Multitude, which is *Force* in the judgment of the Law, as well as *Manus armate*, or Force of Arms, so that if you do it, it must necessarily be done with force; now to enter [7] upon the || King in point of Government with Force, what is it but to invade the Crown? And Kings do account their Heads and Crownes to be very neare each to other; and that he that attempts against the one, attempts against the other.

This Affaire therefore doth touch the Crowne, and nearly concerne your Allegiance, and is worthy to be well considered, for it is of dangerous consequence; 'tis dangerous to those that shall Choose, and be Chosen, and Accept; dangerous to all that shall any waies contrive, counsell, abett or conceale, (tho' here is hardly room for Concealing, (*A Citty set on a Hill cannot be hid*, and these things cannot be done in a Corner) 'tis dangerous to your selves and Posterity, yea dangerous to us all, and doth require more skill in Law and State affaires than is very common among us, to make the way plain to a safe proceeding in it; for I cannot find that the Law doth use any softer Language concerning such Actions, than that of *Tumults, Insurrections, rebellious Riots, Sedition, Rebellion, Treason, &c.*

Gentlemen, I hope you will be carefull to keep at a due distance from such things which are wont to be *Bitternesse in the end*. 'Tis an easy matter to run too farr; And the worst is wont to be made of such things when they come to Tryall.

Fourthly, You may here consider that the Government was not taken into the King's hand without your own Submission, and some sort (at least) of Consent; whence possibly there was not so much Illegality in that proceeding as some do imagine. I was not personally acquainted with those Transactions, and therefore cannot undertake much in this; but this I suppose will not be denied, that if parties be at Law (whether King and subject, or subject and subject) and instead of standing a Tryal, they agree upon Conditions, and the Conditions are performed, and so the Action be let fall, this is not illegall: and if afterwards either party be sensible of inconveniency, will it be fair and honest for him to say it was illegall, and thereupon breake his Agreement? *The Inhabitant of the Holy Hill sweares to his own hurt, and changeth not.* You were at Law with the King, and its like you thought it would be a great Charge to maintaine the Action, and it might go against you at last, and you should be annexed to *Yorke*; and hereupon you submit to the King's Wisdome and pleasure, begging that you may be annexed to the *Bay*; the King performs this condition, and lets fall his Action, Demands the Government, and you yield it up to him; if now you finde it prejudiciall, you must *lay your hand upon your mouth*, and not take it again by force. We must not think to leave and take when we please.

Fifthly, None are allowed by the Law to be Judges in [8] their own Case, || no not the King himself: But if you proceed in this manner, you take upon you, in your own case to judge the King, to condemn and take possession, which in reason will never be borne, for Princes are as tender of their Prerogative as Subjects can be of their Liberties.

But to abate the Force of these Considerations, some say, *We heare there is no King, Regall Power is Extinct, &c.* I answer, 'tis no pleasant Objection or Subject to speak to, but yet the Necessity of the present time seems to require

a word or two to prevent these unwise and unwary speeches which do not become Subjects. Therefore I say first, That Rumours are but a sandy foundation to ground such assertions, or to change and build Government upon, we have yet nothing of Record concerning the King. 2. This doth not help our case at all, for if it were indeed so, that the *Sceptre were departed*, you have then nothing to do with the Patent; 'Tis only the *King's* Governour and Company that hath Interest in the Patent, and the King grants it onely for Himselfe, his Heires and Successours, if there be none of these, your Patent and Estate in it are expired without any more to do. But, *3ly.* The King is a Royall Body politick which hath Succession whereby the Crown passeth not onely to heires by *Blood*, but to Successours also; in which respect it is said, That in Judgement of Law, *The KING never dyes*. There is allwaies a King.

But others say, *What shall we do? there is no Government; the Governour who is the Head of it is imprisoned, and hath Surrendred his Government.* I answer, It is a very great Errour and proceeds from ignorance to think that *there is no Government*, and it containes so many *inconveniencies* and *mischiefs* in it, as it is not safe to mention them; so long as there is any supream power, there must needs be a Government. 2. The Governour is not the Head of the Government but the *King*. And the Government is not his properly and originally but the *King's*. The Governour is but a Minister of the King in the Government, which Ministry it is said he hath surrendred to be secured and be disposed of by Orders that shall be received from the Crown of *England*. It will not become us to prevent these Orders and dispose of the Government otherwise our selves; but to acknowledge our subjection to that Crown, as our Neighbours would do well to do. 3. The Commissions of the Judges and Justices of the severall Counties (the Execution whereof is no small part of Government) are granted by

the Governour (its true) but not from the Governour, but from the *King*, and are derived from the Crowne; it is not from an inferiour but from a Supream power, and they do still continue in force, notwithstanding the imprisonment or Surrender of the Governour; for they are matters of [9] Record under the great Seale of the Dominion, and cannot be countermanded without matter of Record of as high a nature. You may take one instance from *Charles* the first his time, He was indeed the head of the Government; but yet notwithstanding the great Breach and long Warrs between him and his Parliament, and his long imprisonment after that, both together from 42. to the end of 48. there was still a Government, and it was his Government, and exercised by the King's Commissions as long as he lived, for they were not changed nor superseded till a year after his death, as the Histories of those times shew. So that notwithstanding all the Rumours we have had from abroad, and the Overtures at home, there is a Government still, to which we ought to submit; and that for Conscience sake. Let us not have cause to say, that *there are none that will be governed.*

Sixthly. I may desire you to consider those honoured Gentlemen who had the Rule over you under the former Government, and are now also in place under this Government, who I believe would hardly have accepted any Commission under the present Government, but for this end, that you might not be so much Ruled by strangers as otherwise you might have been, and to prevent the miseries that might follow thereupon: I am sure that this was one principall Argument that they used with me, when they saw me so averse as I was to accept, and I think the end has been so far attained, as that you ought with Thankfullness to acknowledge, that by this meanes you have escaped the greatest part of those grievances which others complain of, and not now (you think you have the staffe in your hand) to ride over their Consciences who are under Oath (from

which neither they nor you can absolve them) to execute their Commissions, and to tread them down as mire in the street: The measure that you mete may be measured to you again. Tis a golden Rule, That which you would that others should do to you, do you the same to them; and do not recompence evil for good.

Some I know reflect hard upon them for giving up the former Government; much like those that reflect upon old father *Adam*; but I will so far apologize for them, as to desire you to reflect upon your selves, for have you already forgotten that you (I mean the people) were divided in your opinions; many grudged at the charge of that *Affaire*, whence it was hard (if possible) for them *seasonably* to *raise mony* to maintaine the suite. (I my self know who were then as hot against the raising of money for that Purpose (and cry'd out it was illegall) as now hot for the Patent, and ready to cry out upon the losse of that as illegall; but I will not prejudice any man.) Others were so affraid of [10] being annexed to *Yorke*, that they thought || it the best way to submit without more a doe, so that they might be annexed to the Bay. Surely you cannot forget these things, by which (comeing from the people to their Deputies) it is reasonable to think that the Generall Assembly was moved to make that Submission to the King, and in all Reason it was much better so, than for want of money, to have had a Judgement given against us upon a *Nihil-Dicit*, or Contempt, and it is possible, that if those who reflect so hard upon them had been under the same Circumstances, they would have done the same thing or worse. Therefore methinks they might be a little considered, and not made the scorn of the people.

Seventhly. Consider your Profession, we are all Protestants, I hope there is not a Papist in our Limits, I know not any: and we professe to believe (rejecting humane Traditions) That the word of God is the onely and sufficient Rule of Faith and Manners. And do we not there finde

that *Sure word of Propheſie*, to which we may do well to take heed, as to a light that ſhines in a Dark place, which doth direct and counſell us, *To fear the Lord and the King*, and not to meddle with thoſe that are given to change, *To Keep the King's Commandment*, and that in regard of the Oath of God, *To Give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*, and to God the things that are God's, *To Study to be quiet*, and to be ſubject to *Principalities and powers* (becauſe they are of God) and to obey *Magiſtrates*, *To ſubmit ourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake*, whether it to be the King as ſupream, or unto Governours as unto thoſe that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers and the praiſe of them that do well, for ſo is the will of God, that with well doing, we may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men, &c. and, *Not to deſpiſe Government*, nor to ſpeake evill of *Dignities*? Theſe are ſound Doctrines, and will well conſiſt with the proteſtant Religion (elſe we had reaſon to be aſhamed of it) and it were to be wiſhed, That theſe among us who are *the ſalt of the earth* and *Light of the world* would ſeaſon the people by putting them in mind (as *Paul* commands *Titus*) of thoſe great Duties ſo neceſſary for theſe perilous days, wherein men are (as was propheſied they would be) ſo apt to be Traitors, heady and high minded, and to deſpiſe Government. Therefore before we proceed in this Affaire, conſider what our Religion will gain by it, an Ornament or a Blott, and whether we ſhall not give Occaſion to adverſaries (that ſeek occaſion) to blaſpheme the name and ſpeake evill of the waies of God amongſt us.

Eighthly, Conſider the time and ſtate of affaires in the Chriſtian world. If anything be true of that which comes to us it ſeems, it is a time wherein there is a ſtrong engage-[11] ment to root out the Proteſtant Religion. ¶ *Europe* is upon this account in flames, the Ax is laid to our own Root, if it be ſo, it is a time wherein we had need to *ſtrengthen the things that are weake*, to join heart and hand together againſt French and Pagan-Force and Cruelty, and

to unite heaven and Earth if possible, for the preservation of our selves and posterity, and for the Defence of the cause of God and his Truth with us ; surely this is no time to fall to Faction and parties, to tread down the Government that is left, (too weak already,) to disturb and obstruct the Course of Justice, To confound the Militia, that no man shall know whome to Command nor whome to Obey, and to promote private interests, and therefore set every man's hand against his Brother, unlesse we designe to ruine all. I wish there be not some Jesuit that has foisted in this Project amongst them in the Bay and us here, as the most probable way to ruin us at this time ; for it is the old trade of that Diabolical sort of men by their plausible crafty Counsells, to make protestants destroy themselves, by stirring up, and fomenting divisions among them ; and promoting any thing which tends thereto, the which, how naturally and necessarily they will flow from this proceeding is easy to shew : but it is better to be silent than by speaking to shew men the way which they are too ready to run into.

Ninthly. More might be said, but the last Consideration that I shall offer (and which I think may satisfy any reasonable man) is, That it is known the Country is in daily Expectation of Orders from the Crowne of *England*, for the Settling and Regulating of the Government, those Orders will either contradict or overthrow your Election, or else countenance and Encourage it:

If they overthrow it, to what end is it to hold a Court, (if we could hold a Court) to make Election, to change and turn things up-side down, and hereby put the Country (which is poor enough already) to unnecessary charge, and know not how to defray it when we have done, and to run the hazzard of displeasure from the supream power abroad, and of making Division and Mischief at home, and all for an imaginary Government, which may possibly last for a week or a moneth. *Sapiens incipit a Fine.*

If the Orders that shall come do countenance and encourage to an Election, they will be such as will enable us to it, and so we shall preserve a good Aspect abroad, and Unity and Peace at home; what need then of such Haste? These things cannot be spoken against. And the Town-Clerke of *Ephesus* could say, that these things being so, *you ought to be quiet and do nothing rashly.*

[12] But some say, We shall loose our day if we do not proceed now. I answer, There is nothing in that, for if you have sufficient Warrant from the Crowne of *England*, to enable you to the thing, you will be enabled as to a Day, and Persons, and what else is needfull which now you are not, as before was said.

But say others, If we have an Election before these Orders come, we shall be in a Capacity to capitulate, and so obtain the better termes, &c. I answer this is a great mistake, It will be a mighty Disadvantage; for it will be a wonderfull thing if you be not look'd upon and dealt with as Criminalls.

Again, Whome do you mean to Capitulate with? Surely it will be good manners for us to Aske, and not to Command; to Follow our Leaders and not to go before them.

But some think, These are small matters that will be overlook'd, and easily pardoned, we need not stand upon such niceties.

But I Answer how small they are will be best seen afterwards, and it is better not to need a pardon, than to presume upon getting one.

From all these Considerations I conclude, that our strength is to sit still, and therefore do advise.

That instead of moving towards an Election, the Judges and Justices in the severall Counties, considering their Commissions which they have received and the Oaths which they have taken, for the faithfull Execution of them, and Remembring that the Judgement is not man's but God's who is with them in the Judgement, they take Cour-

age and do it; and in Order thereto Unanimously Declare, that they will Maintain and Exercise the Government (in their Degree) according to their Commissions, in Conformity to the Lawes which are the Rules of their Commissions, and the true and propper Bulwarks of the Subject's just Libertyes, being carefull to do nothing contrary thereto, to the best of their understanding: and that the good People here do willingly and cheerfully submit and yield obedience to the severall Officers in their Respective places, as their Duty is, untill such time as sufficient Warrant shall come from the Crown of *England* for other Orders. And in the meane time, we all with one consent *Lift up our hearts with our hands to God in the Heavens* for a happy Composure of these Commotions in *England* and those other Kingdomes, for the Restitution, Security and propagation of the Gospel, true Religion and Worship of God, and for the preserving and establishing of the peace and liberty of his people there and here, and else where throughout the world to the glory of God.

[13] This Course is regular, innocent, offensive to none, and most safe for our selves and ours: but if the people will not be advised, I very much fear that the Issue will not be like a Tree of Life, or the desire satisfied, else truly I should not at this time have given you or my selfe this trouble.

The Opinion, and Resolution of the other Justices I know not, but for my part I am plaine, and I must declare and protest against an Election at the present, as that which is justly offensive to the supream Power, in whose hands soever it is, or shall be, and pernicious to our selves; and if the people should willfully proceed to it, it will remaine for the Justices to consider whether the Law and their Oathes don't require them to make a Record of it, and Certifie it into the Chancery, &c. But I hope there will none enforce to such things, and I pray that you may all Act under the Influence of the God of peace and Order. And

in Testimony that this is my Opinion and Advice, I have hereunto set my hand, on the eighth day of May, 1689.

GERSHOM BULKELEY.

——— *Pacem te poscimus omnes.*

Peace is the Tranquillity of Order, therefore Order is the only right Way to peace.

A Letter to Gershom Bulkeley, Esq; (one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the County of Hartford) from a friend in the Bay.

Sir,

I have seen your Letter referring to the Government of *Connecticut Colony* Directed unto Col' *Treate* and other Gentlemen there, and being very well acquainted with the papers and passages you refer to and the Truth of them severally: I earnestly expected the Answer, as extreemely necessary for the Vindication of the assumed Government in your parts, if at least they mean to continue their Allegiance and Dependance upon the Crowne of *England*, or to hold their Majesties Subjects in those parts in obedience to them. But for that I heare nothing in their Defence, I must be allowed to guesse, that either those Gentlemen have [14] Orders || from their Majesties unknowne to any, thus to advance themselves, or that they mean to cast off their Dependence and Obedience to the Crown of *England*: The first of these is dishonourable to suppose, the latter will end in the utter Ruin of the English interest here, and leave us a prey to all Nations, when the wild beast shall pass by and tread down the Thistle.

But whatsoever be the Opinion or Resentment of your Gentlemen, I will assure you Sir the good people here (that are so far quitt of the fright and hurry of the late and present confusion in these parts) wish that the men of *Serhem* had hearkened unto *Jotham*, that *God might have heark-*

ened unto them; and fear lest the proceeding here as well as with you, being plainly represented at home, should alarm a just and wise Prince, to take some severe method to keep the people of these Colonies in a more strict Obedience to the Crowne of *England* than will agree with our present licentious and ungovern'd frame; there being amongst us men not of the least interest that daily say, they will not be shuffled out of their Allegiance.

When it shall be seen and understood that the Noise of a French PLOT, and a Maqua's PLOT, A Plot to BURN the TOWNE of BOSTON and to MASSACRE the PEOPLE, neither have nor ever had the least shadow of truth, but a pure *Malicious Invention* onely, to persuade the Common-people into an ill Opinion of those appointed to rule and Govern them, and whom in Duty and Conscience they ought to obey, and being in that manner amused were pushed and hurried into such a Rising and Convulsion of the Government, without ever considering the effect:

And when it shall be told (as now too truly it may) that the Effect of these changes, are the totall Subversion of their Majesties Government, the Losse of the Garrison at *Pemaquid*, the County of *Cornwall*, the *Province of Main* and other parts, Severall hundreds of their Majesties subjects, the Fishery and Lumber trade, the Running away of many of our people, who turn Pirates and do their Countrymen and neighbours the same Mischiefs that the *Algerines* do upon the Coasts of the Christians, whilst their Majestie's Ship of Warre is dismantled and made uselesse, the most injust, long, and cruell Confinement and imprisonment of the Governour, (who was both capable and active on all occasions for the publick good and safety of the Country) severall of the Councill, and other persons imploy'd in publick Office in the Government, (an Act, for which the *American* world can shew no Example or Parallell) and the Committing of the greatest Routs and Riots, even on the Sabbath day, and many other inconveniences

that daily grow upon us: surely all sober and thinking men cannot but see the Folly and Errour of these things, [15] and wish that day had never been, which || has occasioned so great mischiefs and miseryes, of which we all see the Beginning, but none can tell the end.

Amongst the many and false *Rumours and Aspersions* cast upon his *Excellency* the *Governour*, and spread abroad to bring him into Disreputation with his *Prince*, and make him odious to the Common People, I finde one (not of the least) taken notice of by you (very well answered and made of no Weight) which doubtless Influenced some and was a meanes to withdraw and delude others, but do not perceive by your Writeing that you were satisfied in the Falsity as well as the Weaknesse of that Assertion.

Therefore that you may be rightly informed in that particular, I must tell you, That the Peoples takeing to Armes, was wholly a Surprise to *His Excellency*, and that untill they were actually so, he had not the least Advice or Intimation thereof, and used no other meanes, but by the force of his Authority endeavoured to Satisfie them; And to that end Hearing that many of the Councill were at the Councill-Chamber, where (it being the ordinary Councill-Day) they were to meet, (and some particularly by him sent for from *Salem* and other parts to be there) *His Excellency* went to them, and desired their Assistance to pacify the people then in Armes, offering on his part to do what might be proper for His Majesties Service and the Good and Wellfare of his Subjects here: but severall others of the Cheife of the Towne and Magistrates in the late Government being designedly met there, instead of Complying with *his Excellencies* Proposals, and to *Support and Maintaine the Government*, they *lent the Crowd their arme to shake the Tree*, and made *his Excellency* a Prisoner in the Councill-Chamber, and soon after some of the *Councill* and other officers that waited on him: An Act much like that of *Brutus* to *Cæsar*, abating the difference of the Person, and

that they did not *stab* him; but kept him a Prisoner to undergo worse Miseryes.

After *his Excellency* was *thus Confined*, he was often pressed with Threats to give Order for the Surrender of the *Fort* and *Castle*, which he absolutely *Refused*, and never gave any Order for the Surrender of either, but they were *Forced from the officers* that had the Command of them: If this be a *Surrender of the Government*, you and all prudent men may judge: I am sure (as you have well observed) the Law gives it quite other Terme.

His Excellency had sufficient Authority and Orders from the Crowne of *England* to secure the *Government*, which (no doubt) he would have done, had all those in place dis-[16] charged their Duties, and the People continued || their Obedience and Subjection: He wanted not further Orders from *England* for that purpose, nor had he occasion to appoint Trustees, the *King* had appointed and intrusted such as He thought were sufficient. But it was wonderfull to see, with what a *Strong Delusion* the people were possessed at that time; and thought they had with their *Thousands* obtained a mighty Victory over *Ten* or *Twelve naked persons*, and therein *done God good Service*. The Strength of Government consists in the Obedience of the People, and when that Duty is not Regarded the Government is soon Overthrown, and all turned into *Anarchy* and Confusion; of which we have now a sad Example: for what between an *Imaginary Government* and the Fury of the *Mobile* it is hard to *know who is uppermost*.

I have alwaies considered the Ministry of this Country as that which the people came into this Wilderness *to see*, and I hope it shall never be a *Reed shaken with the wind*, and their present influence in all parts of the Country to move the people to bethink themselves of their Causlesse and unaccountable Prejudices, Wrath and Rage, their ungodly deeds, and hard Speeches one against another; and to dispose them to their duties and Obedience to their Maj-

esties Government as established and appointed over them from the Crown of *England*, and that they would prove themselves to be *Children that will not lye*, that God may become their Saviour; is humbly offered as a great part of their Province.

I am ignorant whether from any in these parts you have been written unto since your letter was made publick here, but I am sure your Reasons will be found true, agreeable to Religion and Law, and what you have said against an Election, is as true against an Assumption; and what is true of the Avoidance of the Charter of Connecticut, is much more true of that of the Massachusetts, and how a dependant part of the English Nation can legally come at Government, at least the Coercive part of it, without a Grant from the Crowne, being not to be found in the ordinary Readings of the Law; may be enquired for at *Delphos*.

We often say, that *every man has a pope in his belly*, but I hope nobody pretends to have a *King* there, whatever Sovereignty men take to themselves of opinions in Religion, the Government expects by private persons to be treated with more Distance and Difference, and will certainly be obeyed.

Sir I have known you long a true Lover of your Country, of Integrity and Service in your place and Station, and account your plainnesse to your Countrymen in this great [17] Affaire, as the best Service you could || offer them, and am deeply sorry if any other Opinion be taken thereof amongst the people, however I perceive you have what you expected: and the Rewards of Virtue and public Service are not so soon nor easily gotten.

That all these things may have a happy Composure, and *Their Majesties* Subjects in this their Dominion a due and true Sence of their Duty and Allegiance (which can onely make these Plantations happy and flourish) I am very sure is your desire as well as of (Sir) your Friend and Servant &c.

The Writeing Delivered to *James Russell* of *Charlestowne* Esq; by *Thomas Graves* Esq; Judge of their Majesties Inferiour Court of pleas, and one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace, within the County of *Middlesex*.

To *James Russell* of *Charlestowne* Esq; to be communicated to any others that are in like manner with your self concerned herein.

Sir. *Forasmuch as I am credibly informed, that your self with some other pretended Magistrates do intend on the first Tuesday in October next, to meet together at Cambridge to keep a pretended Court of Judicature, not having any lawful authority from our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary enabling you so to do, I therefore considering the obligation lyeing upon me, by the Commission to the judge of the inferiour Court of Pleas in said County, both from the Crowne of England; neither of which (altho' I have by the late Tumults (not yet stilled) been hindred from executing the power therein to me committed) is yet legally vacated, or superseded: I can do no lesse to show my Loyalty to the Crowne of England than to signify unto you, that any such Meeting can be look'd upon no otherwise than as contrary to the peace of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary their Crowne and Dignity: and therefore I must on their Majesties behalfe warne you, that you presume not to assemble at Cambridge or any other place within this County, for any such unlawfull purpose aforesaid, but that you do at all times bear good Faith and Allegiance to their sacred Majesties, as you will answer the contrary at your peril.*

Dated in Charlestowne this 21st day of September in the first yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, Annoq Dom. 1689.

[18] The Answer of *Thomas Greaves* Esq., to Mr. *Broadstreete* and the Gentlemen met at the Town-house in *Boston* concerning the aforesaid Writing.

Mr. Thomas Greaves being summoned to make his appearance at Boston, on the 24 of Septemb. 1689. at which time Mr. Broadstreete produced a paper which was shewed Mr. Greaves, demanding if he knew it, (who answered he did) it was proposed for a Reading, but Mr. Greaves made answer, They need not give themselves that Trouble, for he fully knew the Contents and owned it to be his Act. But it was Read; after the Reading Mr. Broadstreete made a Speech to Mr. Greaves, in fine saying, He would say no more till Mr. Greaves made Answer; which he had ready prepared in Writing, as followeth Viz.

As to the paper delivred to Mr. James Russell I judge I did but my duty in it, and therefore cannot in conscience recede from it, and I shall be ready to answer King William and Queen Mary whensoever they or any authorized from them shall call me to account for the same. I am sworne to the Crown of England, and your selves have proclaimed King William and Queen Mary to be the rightful Sovereigns of the Realmes and Territories belonging thereunto; Therefore I cannot own any Lawfull Authority in any untill I be legally informed that they have Commission from their Sacred Majestyes.

THOMAS GREAVES.

FINIS.

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